1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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[556]

In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,
Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Targuist, and Bokoya, and in the western maritime tribes, horses are owned only by very wealthy and influential men, who buy them in the lowlands, keeping them more for display than for any other purpose. In the Senhaja Sghir and the Ghomara horses are very seldom encountered; in fact none were owned in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, or Ktama at the time of the Spanish conquest. The sedentary peoples who own horses keep them in the courtyards of their houses and take excellent care of them; without exception the animals are fat, well fed, and not overworked.

Donkeys are found throughout the region, more particularly in the lowlands. They are of a small hardy breed. During the war the Riffians stole many large Spanish jackasses from the military encampments to increase the size of their own animals. In the high mountains of the central Rif and Senhaja, even donkeys are none too frequently encountered. They are used for transport, riding, threshing, and the operation of olive-grinders. They also are kept in the courtyards of the houses at night and are fed on barley and straw.

Mules are more common than either horses or donkeys. For the most part, the breeding of horses, donkeys, and mules is carried on in the lowlands, where the animals are bought by the mountain people. Mules are more highly prized than either of their parental stocks, since they can carry a much heavier load than donkeys and can navigate the steep trails and passes of the mountains better than horses. They are also used for threshing and for the operation of olive-grinders.

Camels are owned only by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. Of the usual dromedary type, they are used wholly for the transport of goods and are only exceptionally ridden.

Sheep are kept principally by the nomadic tribes, and to a lesser extent by the lowland tribes of the eastern Rif. They are found only in the southern part of Gsennaya and are seldom raised in the northern section of that tribe. They are likewise absent from the southern Beni Urriaghel area and are rare in the mountains of the western Beni Tuzin. In Beni Amart and Targuist, on account of the flat plateau-like nature of the territory, sheep are fairly numerous. Throughout the Senhaja Sghir and Ghomara they are practically unknown, and of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja tribes only those on the southwestern extremity own them in any quantity.

Goats, on the other hand, have an opposite distribution. Although they are known and kept everywhere, their numbers increase with the altitude. On the lowlands the sheep are more numerous. In tribes on higher levels, such as Temsaman, the numbers are about even, and in the mountain nucleus at the headwaters of the Nekor and in the Senhaja Sghir the goats hold undisputed sway, for they are better able to withstand cold and to climb about mountain crags. The breeding of sheep, on the other hand, where feasible, is more lucrative than that of goats. This distribution does not, however, indicate the priority of goats over sheep in the Rif (even though this may well be the case), since the environmental factor is, in this particular instance, the governing one.

[857]

Sheep and goats are pastured by small boys, usually the sons of the owners, who amuse themselves by shooting with flintlock guns at pigeons, grouse, and small quadrupeds. Sheepfolds consisting of rough stone enclosures are used at night in stormy weather, and in winter the flocks are usually kept in the courtyard when the weather forbids their presence outside. The purchasing or raising of sheep or goats among the sedentary tribes depends largely upon the presence of sons of proper age to tend them, and the animals are usually sold when the sons have grown too old. In Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa this restriction does

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity, there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable
152 increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large
197 Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that some-
623 body had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

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In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of the Rif economy is that it is based on status. The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part

121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
(571) no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
• 556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
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585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. [997] Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also [262] have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 3

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

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437 The Riffian then is an agriculturalist, a fellah, who keeps small herds of livestock. Our problem is what does he do with his herd and his cereals once the subsistence needs of himself and his family have been met. If he followed Smith's dictum he would 'by instinct' seek out another individual with whom he could exchange his superfluous product in order to gain a profit. Such exchanges do, of course, take place. Ecological differentiation, for one factor, causes the exchange of special objects from one region to another. Occupational specialization requires the fellah to seek out opportunities for exchanging his produce in the most opportune way in order to acquire services and goods outside his range of competence. The question however is, are these forms of exchange the most frequent, do they account for the most significant amount of distribution, and are they culturally or ideologically the most valued types of exchange? If the answer is no, then we must seek out what sort of exchanges do fulfill the above functions. The study of the circulation of goods must proceed sui generis.

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556 In order to derive the relative importance of the various uses of wealth in the Rif, I shall commence with an analysis of the distribution of wealth related to some of the life crises of the Berber.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
[553] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
[585] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
[844] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
[852]
[764]

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
[602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
[782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
[556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
[574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553 574 602 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
[114] On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
553 574 602 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
(578) to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
574 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
(571) ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony
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565 582 792 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a solid social class in the Rif because of the large and economically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means. Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked propensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a 556 565 582 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers. They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people, the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

585 574 571 431 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 574 571 431 556 [114] Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving can become a competitive game in which the guests give increasingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
594 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
594 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
591 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result [152] from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major ● 556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as 152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun [753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of [776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent. [578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective [793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who [435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 5

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: STATUS AND PRESTIGE

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The use of wealth in order to maintain or increase prestige is a feature which may have universal applicability to economic action. However, the outward manifestation of such a use of wealth varies from society to society. In industrial society there is a motivation for using wealth based on prestige, but because of the heterogeneous character of its composition, its different ethnic strains, different religions, different social classes, each sub-social unit has its own code and for the society at large there are no well-fixed rules. In the small-scale non-industrial society with its greater homogeneity, the code tends to be fixed and universal for the society. Thus one has the rather formal Kula ring with its minimization of options, the ritualized display and consumption of goods by Northwest Coast Indians, or the measuring of all social ties by cattle among the Nuer.

The Berbers of the Rif display a pattern which is between the flexible standards of prestige evaluation encountered in industrial society and the rigid standards of many traditional societies. The absence of rigidity does not imply that there is not a code of behavior involved in status but merely that the code is flexible.

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556 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

556
423 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

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428 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif, such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

562 428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister 431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal 578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land 182 607 claims are mutually balanced off.

428 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their 423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their 607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct 562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri- 428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ- 423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there 183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The 556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which 425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

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[M31]

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Naah's remark about property among the Maya

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Nash's remark about property among the Maya
423 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in
171 the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off families have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 692 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 692 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
556 554 571 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is placed in the position of protector and is under traditional obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal soli-
556 darity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within the community but by outside authorities.

a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter sold on the eve of national independence. While it is illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to do so with tacit approval from local officials. He opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber transients and Western tourists. Although he came from a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital. However, his values were oriented almost entirely to city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his economic power into social status in his tribe. When an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%). They complained to the police (it was rumored that generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could reopen once the tourist season was over.

b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

556 [423] [425] under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar and although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside. This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief. [689] [625]

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. 556 472 183 521 369 186 Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 521 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 472 571 577 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incentive. In order to understand these differences more clearly, let us examine the process by which an investment is made by both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 454 231 471 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function. Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

556 30 454 [422]

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men 466 of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on 464 another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

556 In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 554 social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects 182 the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians 183 wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains signifi- [128] cance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

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the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

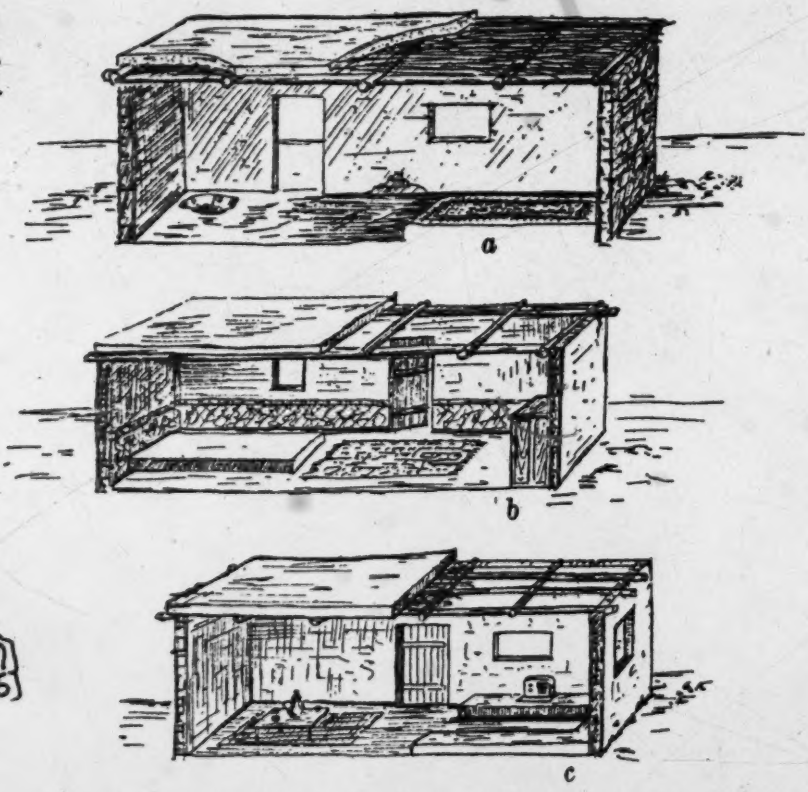

Fig. 20. Rifian houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

[See p. 127--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*).[A] A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*),[B] and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

[A] [See p. 127--Analyst] [B] [See p. 126--Analyst]